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demand for the state as the Romans ever lived under? Though used as a sort of cry against all forms of established authority, was not nature after all rather a watchword of reconstruction than of anarchy? And "the formal conventional act", to which Professor Willoughby refers, was this anything more than a sort of legal fiction, a political category, which, while depriving every visible institution of final authority, was nevertheless an evidence of the constant demand in human nature for instituted authority in some form? The difference between the Roman and the modern idea, if difference there be, is that between fixity and movement, between the law as necessary and the law as always subject to revision. It can hardly be that between what is "rationally demanded" and what is "so artificial as to require a formal conventional act for its establishment".

So, in conclusion, this book by Professor Willoughby, while undoubtedly justified, is as much an invitation to others to work in the same vineyard as anything else. The invitation, however, has been needed, and what a book succeeds in making not only more clearly necessary but also more clearly worth while, is quite as important as what in itself it immediately achieves. Professor Willoughby's book has the real importance of both meeting a want and at the same time creating one.

ALFRED H. LLOYD.

A Social History of Ancient Ireland. By P. W. JOYCE, LL.D. (New York, London, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1903. Two vols., pp. xxiii, 632; xi, 651.)

DR. JOYCE'S two volumes constitute the most comprehensive treatise on the life and institutions of ancient Ireland that has appeared for a long time. No work of similar range has been undertaken since Eugene O'Curry's *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (Dublin, 1861) and on the *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* (1873); and Celtic studies have made great advances in the interval. Dr. Joyce, while taking advantage of the progress of science, frankly acknowledges a large debt to his predecessor and treats his work with a respect which it has not always received from men of the newer training. In fact he sometimes quotes O'Curry or O'Flaherty (the author of *Ogygia*) when it would be more satisfactory to have references to original sources. But he is not misled by their authority, and he usually makes clear to the reader the real nature of the evidence for his statements. His work, as might be expected, frequently corrects and in large measure supersedes all earlier treatises on the subject with which it deals.

After a judicious preliminary discussion of the nature of his sources and the methods of his investigation, Dr. Joyce gives a general bird's-eye view of Irish society in the period from the sixth century to the twelfth. Then he proceeds to take up one by one different features of the national life and discusses them minutely in successive chapters. His study includes the systems of law and government; religious institutions, both

pagan and Christian ; education, both lay and clerical ; language, literature in its various departments, and the arts and sciences ; and all the daily activities of domestic, social, and industrial life. He has brought together a great mass of material of the utmost interest to students of any branch of history or archæology, has arranged it admirably, and has discussed it with much clearness and sobriety, though not with marked originality. He has not contributed much in the way of new theories or discoveries of facts, but this was not his main purpose. On the whole his treatise represents pretty well the present state of the information upon the subjects with which it deals.

Dr. Joyce's method is not chronological, and it would probably have been impossible — at least without prolonged special investigation — to trace the development of many of the institutions he treats. But one sometimes feels that more regard should have been paid to time. The chapter on "Paganism" would have been better if more attempt had been made to distinguish its successive phases, and if Druidism had not been simply identified with the popular religion. Dr. Joyce either did not know or he chose to disregard the important recent discussion of this subject by A. L. J. Bertrand, whose treatise, *La Religion des Gaulois* (1897), is not mentioned either among the references on Celtic Druids (I. 240, note) or in the general bibliography. In general, I should say that not enough account is taken of current opinion and discussion, which often affects very materially the interpretation of the texts and monuments. Speaking of Esus (I. 249), Dr. Joyce suggests that he was widely worshiped in Gaul, though M. Reinach has argued vigorously against this view (*Revue Celtique*, XVIII. 143) ; and he says nothing of the attempt made by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville to find in an episode of the *Tain Bó Cuailgne* a parallel to continental sculptures of the same god. Similarly he discusses the Tuatha de Danann without mentioning either Stern's theory (*Stokes Festschrift*, 15 ff.) about the origin of the name (which, if accepted, would dispose of the goddess "Danu") or Nutt's long essay upon them in *The Voyage of Bran*. In a later chapter he treats the life of Saint Patrick without indicating that the usual account (which he follows) has been often questioned, most recently in H. Zimmer's important article on the "Keltische Kirche" (*Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, third ed., 1901, X. 204 ff.). These omissions, and others like them, were probably part of Dr. Joyce's plan. But it seems none the less important to point them out, even if the author felt himself to be observing a necessary limitation. The treatise is far less complete as a digest of opinion than as a collection of materials.

I do not think a large quantity of positive errors will be found in the work. The equation between Bel and Baal (I. 279) will hardly command the assent of scholars ; and the assumption of a common origin for O'Duibhne and Adonis (I. 532) is still more astonishing. Several of Dr. Joyce's linguistic ventures are unlucky, although he has written a good book on Irish place-names. There is surely no reason for repeat-

ing Crowe's etymological identification of *bruidhen* and *πρῆταγείον* (II. 171). Dr. Joyce's remarks on Christian loan-words (I. 316) are also inadequate, taking too little account of Welsh transmission, and his classification of the Celtic languages (I. 472) is misleading when it implies that the continental Celtic as we know it was the parent of Welsh and Irish. But these inaccuracies fortunately do not affect the greater part of his work. It is in comparison of Irish with other languages rather than in the interpretation of the Irish itself that he is not quite safe. And I may add that in dealing with religion and saga the least successful parts of his work have been his efforts at comparison. The parallels and contrasts, for example, between Irish and Gaulish religion (I. 238-240) are not particularly significant, and in a later chapter (I. 391) the remarks on cold torments in hell imply that the doctrine was more restricted to the Celts than it really was.

But comparison of institutions, like comparison of words, was only a casual matter with Dr. Joyce. He says in his preface that he could not give much space to it. His chief object was to compile the available facts about the social history of ancient Ireland, and he has done it with remarkable thoroughness. Such a compilation is of special value (and attended with special difficulties, it should be remembered) in the field of Celtic philology, where most of the usual aids to scholarship — good dictionaries, onomasticons, cyclopedias, and the like — are still extremely scarce.

F. N. ROBINSON.

Les Origines de l'Ancienne France. Par JACQUES FLACH. III. Le Renaissance de l'État. La Royauté et le Principat. (Paris: Librairie de la Société du Recueil Général des Lois et des Arrêts, L. Larose, Directeur. 1904. Pp. viii, 580.)

To all who have a special interest in the history of feudal institutions, or in the history of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the appearance of a new volume by M. Flach, after an interval of ten years, is an event of much importance. Whatever one may think of his fundamental theories, or even of his historical method in some of its particulars, there is certain to be much instruction to be found in his suggestive ideas, in his restudy of the evidence, and in the new evidence which he brings to bear with great skill on the problems of the age.

It was a long life-work which M. Flach began many years ago, and it has been much interrupted by the exacting duties of his academic position. The first volume appeared in 1886; the second in 1893; and the third bears the date of 1903. Of his original plan of the work, covering the entire institutional history of the period between the dissolution of the Carolingian state and the beginning of a reconstruction of the royal power by the Capetians, Volume I. contained Book I., on protection — a study of political conditions affecting the origin of feudalism — and Book II., on the dissolution of society; Volume II. contained Book III., on the elements of reconstruction — a study of early communal organization, urban and rural, and of feudal institutions; and the pres-